

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01452 01 OF 02 031318Z  
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 HA-05 OIC-02 NAS-01 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
STR-07 AID-05 OES-07 CEQ-01 /118 W  
-----007208 031351Z /72

R 031220Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6362  
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA  
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 1452

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OAS, SHUM, PA, ES, UY  
SUBJ: LIKELY GOU POSITION AT VIII OASGA

REF: STATE 103851

1. THE GOU IS IN THE THROES OF PUTTING TOGETHER ITS  
POSITION FOR THE VIII OASGA. AFTEREFFECTS OF THE DEFEAT  
ON THE SITE ISSUE LINGER. THE HARDLINERS SAVOR THE  
HUMILIATION AND WANT TO USE IT TO STRIKE BACK. THE MORE  
RATIONAL FORCES RECOGNIZE IT FOR WHAT IT WAS--A DIPLOMATIC  
DEFEAT PRECIPITATED BY THE GOU'S OWN ILL-ADVISED INITIA-  
TIVES. FONMIN ROVIRA AND HIS CHIEF OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS,  
ALVARO ALVAREZ, WHO WERE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SITE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONTEV 01452 01 OF 02 031318Z

ISSUE DEFEAT, THOUGH CHASTENED, REMAIN ON THE SCENE  
AND MAY REPRESENT THE GOU AT THE WASHINGTON SESSION.  
FORTUNATELY, THE MODERATES, WHO POINT TO THE AMERICAN  
BAR ASSOCIATION VISIT AS THE FIRST POSITIVE FOREIGN  
POLICY ACCOMPLISHMENT IN RECENT YEARS, APPEAR TO HAVE  
STRONG SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITION THAT THE GOU SHOULD  
ACCENTUATE THE POSITIVE OF THIS NEW INITIATIVE RATHER

THAN DWELL ON PAST DIFFICULTIES AND DIFFERENCES WITH THE IAHR.

2. I WAS HEARTENED DURING A RECENT MEETING WITH FONMIN ROVIRA AND HIS CLOSEST ADVISERS TO FIND THAT HE NOW PROFESSES TO BE A CHAMPION OF MODERATION HIMSELF (A TRUE SURVIVOR, HE). HE STATED BOLDLY THAT HE WAS TAKING THE POSITION IN INTERNAL DISCUSSIONS THAT THE GOU SHOULD AVOID BEING DRAWN INTO A POLEMICAL CONFRONTATION AT THE VIII OASGA, AS HAPPENED AT GRENADA. HE APPEARED ATTRACTED BY THE IDEA OF BEGINNING SOME INFORMAL, EXPLORATORY TALKS WITH SECRETARY GENERAL, EDMUNDO VARGAS CARRENO, TO BEGIN THE PRECESS OF MOVING TOWARD A NEW AND MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IAHR.

3. ROVIRA MAY WELL HAVE BEEN DRIVEN TO HIS NEW STANCE IN A SEARCH FOR SURVIVAL. VIEWED BY SOME IN THE MILITARY AS THE ARCHITECT OF THE OAS-SITE FIASCO, HIS REMOVAL HAS BEEN RUMORED, AND MAY STILL OCCUR. AMONG THE OPTIONS THE MILITARY HAVE CONSIDERED IS ONE WHICH WOULD LOWER THEIR LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION AT THE VIII OASGA; PARTICULARLY AIMED AT KEEPING ROVIRA FROM THE SCENE, BUT ALSO TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE GOU STILL RESENTS THE SITE-VOTE SNUB. OAS AMBASSADOR ROCA IS GENERALLY VIEWED AS A LIABILITY. BUT AS IN THE CASE OF ROVIRA, THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT ROCA WILL BE REMOVED BEFORE THE JUNE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MONTEV 01452 01 OF 02 031318Z

MEETING FOR FACE-SAVING REASONS.

4. WE CAN EASILY REINFORCE THE POSITIVE TREND WITHIN THE GOU TO AVOID A REPETITION OF THE GRENADA EXPERIENCE. THE MODERATES, WHO NOW HAVE THE UPPER HAND, CLEARLY WOULD LIKE TO BUILD ON THE POSITIVE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ABA VISITS AS EVIDENCE THAT THE GOU IS COMMITTED TO IMPROVING ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POSTURE. BUT THERE ARE FORCES WHICH CAN DRIVE THE GOU INTO JOINING A CONFRONTATION, EVEN THOUGH IT MAY WISH TO AVOID ONE. EVEN MODERATES HERE POINT TO VENEZUELAN AMBASSADOR MACHIN AS THEIR PRINCIPAL NEMESIS. THEY BELIEVE HE WILL GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO ATTACK AND EMBARRASS URUGUAY. IF THIS WERE TO OCCUR, THE URUGUAYAN DELEGATION WOULD BE FORCED TO RESPOND. I HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING IF URUGUAYAN PARANOIA IS OVERACTIVE WITH REGARD TO AMBASSADOR MACHIN. BUT PERHAPS WE CAN PLAY A HELPFUL ROLE IN STAYING HIS HAND, IF IN FACT HIS INTENTION IS TO MAKE MORE OF THE URUGUAYAN REPORT THAN IS NECESSARY. WE COULD ADVISE THE VENEZUELAN THAT WE SEE LITTLE PURPOSE SERVED BY DWELLING ON THE PAST WHEN WE NOW HAVE SOME POSITIVE SIGNS THAT THE GOU MAY BE BEGINNING TO

MOVE IN A MORE POSITIVE DIRECTION. MOREOVER, ANOTHER  
ORGY OF POLEMICS AT THE OASGA WILL NOT HELP.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MONTEV 01452 02 OF 02 031319Z  
ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 HA-05 OIC-02 NAS-01 CIAE-00  
DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00  
STR-07 AID-05 OES-07 CEQ-01 /118 W  
-----007218 031349Z /72

R 031220Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6363  
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA  
AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 1452

5. THE MORE PROBABLE AND MORE DANGEROUS SPOILERS ARE  
AMONG URUGUAY'S SOUTHERN CONE "FRIENDS" AND OTHERS SUCH  
AS NICARAGUA AND SALVADOR, WHO MAY SPARK A CONFRONTA-  
TION TO DRAMATIZE THEIR OWN CASE. IF THIS HAPPENS,  
URUGUAY WOULD FIND ITSELF DRAWN TO SUPPORT THEM FOR  
REASONS OF SOLIDARITY AND TO REPAY THEIR SUPPORT ON THE  
SITE ISSUE.

6. I HAVE TOLD FONMIN ROVIRA AND KEY LEADERS IN THE  
MILITARY THAT WE ARE INTERESTED IN SEEING THE VIII OASGA  
DEAL IN A SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER WITH THE ISSUES  
ON THE AGENDA, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS. WE SEE LITTLE TO  
BE GAINED IN POSTURING AND EMPTY POLEMICS. I TOLD HIM WE  
WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE OUR POSITION CLEAR TO ALL MEMBER  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MONTEV 01452 02 OF 02 031319Z

STATES. I ADDED THAT URUGUAY, IN PROTECTING ITS INTERESTS, SHOULD INFORM ITS SOUTHERN CONE FRIENDS THAT IT TOO SUPPORTS A CONSTRUCTIVE ASSEMBLY SESSION; ONE WHICH DOES NOT FOCUS MORE ATTENTION THAN NECESSARY ON THE URUGUAYAN REPORT AND LOOKS RATHER TO THE POSITIVE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN URUGUAY AND TO ANY NEW RELATIONSHIP THE GOU IS ABLE TO DEVELOP IN THE INTERIM WITH THE IAHRC.

7. COMMENT. THE VIII OASGA APPEARS CUSTOM-MADE FOR SOMEONE TO PLAY THE SPOILER. THE DEMAGOGIC STAND THE PARAGUAYAN AND SALVADORAN REPRESENTATIVES TOOK ON PAN AMERICAN DAY MARKS THEM AS POTENTIAL MAVERICKS. NIC-ARAGUA ALSO MIGHT FIND IT CONVENIENT TO RESORT TO GRAND THEATER. THE LARGER SOUTHERN CONE COUNTRIES (BRAZIL, ARGENTINA AND CHILE) ARE LESS LIKELY TO INITIATE A CONFRONTATION, BUT INEVITABLY WILL SUPPORT THEIR PAROCHIAL POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS ONCE THE DEBATE BEGINS. THE ONLY DEFENSE AGAINST A SPOILER IS TO ERODE THE POTENTIAL SUPPORT BASE. IF WE CAN CONVINCE MEMBER COUNTRIES THROUGH HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATION IN ALL CAPITALS THAT THE VIII OASGA SHOULD BE A FORUM FOR A SERIOUS AND A STATES-MANLIKE DISCUSSION OF THE ORGANIZATION'S AGENDA, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS, WE MAY BE ABLE TO CREATE A CLIMATE WITHIN WHICH A SPOILER CANNOT PROSPER.  
PEZZULLO

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** HUMAN RIGHTS, INTERVENTION, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, ANTIAMERICAN FEELING, ALLEGATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 03 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978MONTEV01452  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780188-0765  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MONTEVIDEO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780598/aaaadfik.tel  
**Line Count:** 198  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 773523a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION ARA  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** 78 STATE 103851  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 jul 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2805559  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** LIKELY GOU POSITION AT VIII OASGA  
**TAGS:** SHUM, PA, ES, UY, OAS  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/773523a5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014